

#### VIA FIRST CLASS MAIL

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MAR - 7 2014

RE: MUR 6641

Coalition of Americans for Political Equity PAC and Margaret Berardinelli in her official capacity

as treasurer

Dear Messrs. Potter and Sanderson:

On September 20, 2012, the Federal Election Commission notified the Coalition of Americans for Political Equality PAC and Margaret Berardinelli in her official capacity as treasurer (collectively, "your Client"), of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. On February 25, 2014, the Commission found, on the basis of information in the complaint, and information provided by your Client, that there is no reason to believe that the Coalition of Americans for Political Equity PAC and Margaret Berardinelli in her official capacity as treasurer violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.16(b). Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which explains the Commission's findings, is enclosed for your information.

If you have any questions, please contact Emily M. Meyers, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 694-1650.

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William A. Powers

**Assistant General Counsel** 

Enclosure:

Factual and Legal Analysis

1		CRAL ELECTION COMMISSION		
2 3 4		TUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS		
5 6 7 8 9	5 RESPONDENT: The Coalitie 6 Jefferey Lo 7 Nicholas Sp 8 Margaret B	ion of Americans for Political Equality PAC, byd in his official capacity as Chairman, pears in his official capacity as Secretary, and Berardinelli in her official capacity as Treasurer	MUR 6641	
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11	1 This matter was generated	by a Complaint filed with the Federal Election Co	ommission	
12	2 (the "Commission") by Allen Wes	est for Congress ("West"), alleging violations of the	e Federal	
13	3 Election Campaign Act of 1971, a	as amended, (the "Act") by The Coalition of Amer	icans for	
14	4 Political Equality PAC, Jefferey L	Loyd in his official capacity as Chairman, Nicholas	s Spears in	
15	5 his official capacity as Secretary,	and Margaret Berardinelli in her official capacity	as Treasurer,	
16	6 (collectively, the "Respondent" or	(collectively, the "Respondent" or "CAPE"). The Complainant alleges that CAPE disseminated		
17	7 materials that reference West and	materials that reference West and direct readers, among other things, to visit a support website		
18	8 for West that in turn solicits donat	for West that in turn solicits donations. Yet West did not authorize that website, and little, if any		
19	9 of the solicited donations were dir	of the solicited donations were directed to West. West therefore asserts that the Respondent		
20	0 fraudulently misrepresented itself	fraudulently misrepresented itself in solicitations and in other communications as acting on		
21	behalf of West, in violation of 2 U	U.S.C. § 441h(b) of the Act and 11 C.F.R. § 110.16	б(b).	
22	2 The record leaves little do	oubt that the Respondent sought to use Representati	ive West's	
23	3 likeness to raise funds independen	ntly to support his candidacy. Moreover, it appears	s that the	
24	4 Respondent spent very little of the	Respondent spent very little of the money it raised to support West. Rather, the funds appear to		
25	5 have been spent primarily on addi	ve been spent primarily on additional fundraising. Also troubling are the accounts of donors		
26	6 who mistakenly contributed funds	who mistakenly contributed funds to the Respondent while intending to contribute directly to		
27	7 West. Nonetheless, the Commissi	West. Nonetheless, the Commission cannot agree with Complainant that this conduct constitute		

a fraud within the reach of the Act or Commission regulation. Whether it is prohibited by laws

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MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.	)
Factual and Legal Analysis	
Page 2 of 11	

- beyond the Act, criminal or otherwise, is not a matter within the Commission's jurisdiction. The
- 2 Commission finds no reason to believe that the Respondent violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b) or
- 3 11 C.F.R. § 110.16(b).

#### 4 II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

#### A. Parties

### 1. Allen West for Congress

- 7 Allen West was the U.S. Representative from Florida's 22nd Congressional District from
- 8 2011 to 2013. In a closely contested election in 2012, Allen West unsuccessfully ran for U.S.
- 9 Representative in Florida's newly redistricted 18th Congressional District. Allen West for
- 10 Congress is Allen West's principal campaign committee. Gregory Wilder is Treasurer.

## 11 2. Coalition of Americans for Political Equality PAC

- The Coalition of Americans for Political Equality PAC registered with the Commission
- as an independent expenditure-only committee on February 23, 2011. Margaret Berardinelli is
- 14 CAPE's Treasurer. Jefferey Loyd is CAPE's Chairman and Nicholas Spears is CAPE's
- 15 Secretary. CAPE describes itself as "a non-profit political organization dedicated to restoring
- 16 conservative values in the politicians elected to represent all citizens of the United States of
- 17 America." Compl., Ex. A (Aug. 29, 2012).

#### 18 B. Background

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- West alleges that the Respondent's solicitations and other materials violated section 441h
- 21 of the Act for three general reasons. First, West alleges that a "reasonable person could easily
- 22 conclude that the language used in CAPE PAC's solicitation materials is either from
- 23 Congressman West's campaign or that the solicitor is working with the West campaign."

Compl. at 5.

MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 3 of 11

1	Second, West claims that the vast majority of each Respondent's disbursements and expenditure
2	has been for operating expenses and additional fundraising communications. <sup>2</sup> Third, West
3	compares the actions of the Respondent to those of the respondent in MUR 5385 (Groundswell
4	Voters PAC), a matter where the Commission found reason to believe that the respondent
5	violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b) by mailing a fundraising letter requesting contributions to fund a
6	grassroots effort to benefit Richard Gephardt's Presidential campaign. <sup>3</sup>
7 8 9	1. West Alleges that Respondent Violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b) by Referencing West in a Solicitation
10	West alleges that a "reasonable person could easily conclude that [the solicitation's
11	language] indicates that the solicitation is either from Congressman West's campaign or that the
12	solicitor is working with the West campaign" and that therefore the Respondent violated section
13	441h(b) of the Act and 11 C.F.R. § 110.16(b). Compl. at 4. Because the Respondent's
14	solicitations use West's name without permission, West asserts that the Respondent is "simply
15	using Congressman West's name to raise funds" in violation of the Act. Id. at 2, 4. The
16	Complainant also alleges that the Respondent's communications "are intentionally designed to
17	blur the line between [the Respondent's] and Allen West's own campaign committee, Allen

On August 13, 2012, CAPE issued a press release entitled "CAPE PAC Is Working to

Get Out the Vote in Florida." *Id.* at 1, Ex. A. The press release states that CAPE,

having endorsed Congressman Allen West . . . has launched Get-out-the-vote (GOTV) campaigns focused on the Tuesday, August 14, 2012 primaries in Florida . . . . GOTV efforts include local TV advertisements, voice broadcasts, social media, search placements, and targeted videos. CAPE PAC aims to

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West for Congress." Id. at 4.

ld. at 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Id.* at 4-5.

MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 4 of 11

educate voters about West . . . and to GOTV . . . . The organization is also 2 working to help voters find their local polling places. 3 Id., Ex. A. The press release directs readers to view its television spots on behalf of West on 4 YouTube, "push out" the Twitter hashtag "#VoteAllenWest," and visit CAPE's "support" 5 website at www.votewest2012.org ("Votewest2012.org"). Id. 6 Votewest2012.org includes a stylized logo "Allen West for Congress 2012" in the upper 7 left hand corner and at the bottom left of the screen. Id. at 1-2, Ex. B. It also includes photos of 8 the candidate, and descriptions of West's positions on various issues. Id., Ex. B. 9 Votewest2012.org also references CAPE. At the top right hand corner of the screen appears the 10 text in small print, "A candidate support website funded by CAPE PAC." Id. In the middle of 11 the right side of the screen, under the "CONNECT WITH US" tab, the following text appears: 12 "Help CAPE PAC re-elect Allen West to Congress! When you sign up today, we will send you 13 critical updates and help you stay current on the race for conservative victory in 2012." Id. 14 A link "About CAPE PAC" is the third link in the site navigation list near the bottom of the 15 page. Id. Finally, at the bottom of the page, the following text in small print appears: "Coalition of Americans for Political Equality Political Action Committee is a federal Independent 16 expenditure-only colitical action committee which independently supports Federal candidates 17 18 who reflect our core values and principles through a variety of activities aimed at influencing the outcome of national elections." Id. Below that text is a white box with the following text: "Paid 19 for by the Coalition of Americans for Political Equality Political Action Committee / Not 20 21 authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee / For more information visit 22 www.capepac.org." Id. CAPE has copyrighted the page. Id. If a visitor to Votewest2012.org clicks the red "DONATE" button in the upper right 23

corner, a new page opens that includes at the top of the page the stylized logo, "Allen West for

MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.)
Factual and Legal Analysis
Page 5 of 11

- 1 Congress 2012" on the left and in small print on the right, "A candidate support website funded
- 2 by CAPE PAC." Compl. at 1-2, Ex. C. Near the top of the page, in a black box with white text
- against a white background is a banner that reads, "JOIN CAPE PAC'S CAMPAIGN TO HELP
- 4 ELECT ALLEN WEST IN 2012. WITH YOUR HELP, TOGETHER, WE CAN WIN THE
- 5 FUTURE FOR AMERICA!"
- 6 Further, CAPE states that, on its "About CAPE PAC" page, it included the following
- 7 language: "PLEASE BE AWARE THAT WHEN DONATING THROUGH THIS WEBSITE,
- 8 YOU ARE DONATING TO THE COALITION OF AMERICANS FOR POLITICAL
- 9 EQUALITY (CAPE) PAC AND NOT DONATING TO THE CANDIDATE DIRECTLY."
- 10 Resp. at 3 (Nov. 19, 2012).
- Although the Complaint did not include screenshots from West's own website,
- 12 www.allenwestforcongress.com, the Response did. See Resp., Ex. C. Those screenshots
- indicate that the two websites differ in color scheme, graphic design, and layout.
- 14 The Complaint asserts that CAPE confused contributors to think that they are
- contributing to West directly. See Compl. at 3 (describing how a "political reporter/blogger[]
- 16 was misled by CAPE PAC's website . . . to believe that he was making a contribution to another
- candidate's campaign directly" and asserting that "nearly 1 out of every 10 coatributions made to
- 18 CAPE PAC is ultimately refunded to the contributor[,]" which indicates that "these refunds are
- made to individuals confused by the solicitation materials of CAPE PAC").
- 20 CAPE denies that its solicitations violated the Act. In its Response, CAPE asserts that
- 21 Votewest2012.org "contained multiple, clear indications that CAPE PAC operates independently.
- 22 from the West Campaign[,]" and that "CAPE PAC has also done much more than fundraise,

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MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 6 of 11

deploying resources to promote federal candidates during the 2012 election cycle through many

2 online and off-line efforts." Resp. at 1.

The Response asserts that the legal disclaimer provided on CAPE's website complies
with the requirements of 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(c)(1)-(2), and details six other ways in which the
Votewest2012.org website "went above and beyond [CAPE's] legal obligation" to inform

6 viewers that CAPE, not any candidate, sponsored the website. *Id.* at 2-3. The Response also

states that the "logos, structure, and color scheme of CAPE PAC's website bear no resomblance

to those found on the West Campaign's official website." Id. at 3, Ex. C.

CAPE "recognizes that some refunds were issued to confused donors[,]" but claims that "this donor confusion was not the result of CAPE PAC's fraudulent misrepresentations[.]" Id. at 3. Instead, CAPE asserts that visitors to its website, just like television and radio advertisement viewers and listeners, "may mistake an ad that discusses a candidate for one that is sponsored by a candidate[,] despite the inclusion of legal disclaimers and other indications that the ad was actually funded by an outside group." Id.

2. Respondent Used the Majority of Funds for Operating Expenditures

The Complaint further alleges that CAPE violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b) because its "solicitations prey on civic-minded citizens who are led to believe that their contribution may actually be used in support of Allen West, and who presumably have no idea that [CAPE] simply engages in an endless cycle of fundraising that ultimately pays for little more" than the officers' own fees and benefits, and further fundraising efforts. Compl. at 4. West alleges that, according to the Respondent's 2012 July Quarterly Reports, "[v]irtually all of the group's reported disbursements go to operating expenditures that consist of online advertising, 'directors fees' to the Chairman and Secretary, and public relations[.]" Compl. at 3.

MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 7 of 11

CAPE counters the allegations regarding its operating expenditures by asserting that it engaged in legitimate political activity by: (1) buying advertisements designed to put content favorable to the candidate at or near the top of internet search result lists, which increase traffic to those sites and decrease traffic that could have gone to sites that expressed negative information; (2) creating an on-line presence via Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube; (3) sending millions of emails to targeted voters; (4) building an application for mobile phones to inform conservative voters of their polling locations; and (5) issuing numerous press releases, and sponsoring television and radio advertisements and robocalls that referenced CAPE's favored candidates. Resp. at 4.

# 3. Analogous Prior Commission Decision

The Complainant compares the instant matter to MUR 5385 (Groundswell Voters PAC). Compl. at 4-5. In MUR 5385, the Commission found reason to believe that the respondent violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b) "by mailing a fundraising letter requesting contributions to fund a grassroots effort to benefit [Richard] Gephardt's Presidential campaign." Factual & Legal Analysis at 1, MUR 5385 (Groundswell Voters PAC).

CAPE argues that MUR 5385 is distinguishable because the letter at issue in that matter did not include a disclaimer and "presented a false IRS registration number." Resp. at 1-2.

# C. Legal Analysis

2	The Act and Commission regulations prohibit persons from "fraudulently
3	misrepresent[ing] the person as speaking, writing, or otherwise acting for on behalf of any
4	candidate or political party or employee or agent thereof for the purpose of soliciting
5	contributions or donations[.]" 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)(1); 11 C.F.R. § 110.16(b)(1).
6	As the Commission has explained, section 441h(b) of the Act was enacted as part of the
7	Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 to prevent others from misrepresenting that they were
8	raising funds on behalf of the candidate:
9 10 11 12 13	the Commission has historically been unable to take action in enforcement matters where persons unassociated with a candidate or candidate's authorized committee have solicited funds by purporting to act on behalf of a specific candidate or political party. Candidates have complained that contributions that contributors believed were going to benefit the candidate were diverted to other purposes, harming both the eandidate and contributor.
15	Explanation and Justification, 11 C.F.R. § 110.16, 67 Fed. Reg. 76,962, 76,969 (Dec. 13, 2002).
16	Since its adoption, section 441h(b) of the Act has been enforced against respondents who
17	misled visitors to their websites by fashioning their sites to mimic the candidate's official
18	website, and by including on the website various statements that the websites were "paid for and
19	authorized by" the candidate's committee when the respondents knew that the website was
20	neither paid for nor authorized by the candidate or the candidate's authorized committee.
21	See, e.g., First Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 3, MURs 5443, 5495, 5505 (www.johnfkerry-2004.com).
22	But "[e]ven absent an express misrepresentation, a representation is fraudulent if it was
23	reasonably calculated to deceive persons of ordinary prudence and comprehension." FEC v.
24	Novacek, 739 F. Supp. 2d 957, 961 (N.D. Tex. 2010). Cf. United States v. Thomas, 377 F.3d
25	232, 242 (2d Cir. 2004) (citing, inter alia, Silverman v. United States, 213 F.2d 405 (5th Cir.
26	1954) (holding that, if the mails are used in a scheme devised with the intent to defraud, the fact

not West.

MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 9 of 11

1 that there is no misrepresentation of a single existing fact makes no difference in the fraudulent 2 nature of the scheme)). For example, in MUR 5472 (Republican Victory Committee, Inc.), the 3 Commission found that respondents knowingly and willfully violated section 441h(b) of the Act 4 because their telephone and mail solicitations contained statements that, although making no 5 expressly false representation, falsely implied that respondents were affiliated with or acting on 6 behalf of the Republican Party. See Commission Certification ¶ 1, MUR 5472 (Republican 7 Victory Committee, Inc.) (Jan. 31, 2005); First Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 8, MUR 5472 (Republican 8 Victory Committee, Inc.). In MUR 5472, the Respondent had stated in its direct mailings: 9 "Contributions or gifts to the Republican Party are not deductible as charitable contributions." 10 First Gen. Counsel's Rpt. at 8, MUR 5472 (Republican Victory Committee, Inc.) (quoting direct 11 mailings from Republican Victory Committee, Inc.) (emphasis added). A reasonable person 12 reading that statement, which directly addresses the effect of the donation, would have believed 13 that the Republican Victory Committee, Inc. was soliciting contributions on behalf of the 14 Republican Party. Id. 15 The record here does not provide a reasonable basis to believe that CAPE made 16 fraudulent misrepresentations in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b) through its press release or 17 websites. To violate section 441h(b) of the Act, a person must fraudulently misrepresent that the 18 person speaks, writes, or otherwise acts on behalf of or for a candidate. Some of the language in 19 the Respondent's solicitations is ambiguous as to how the contributions will be spent to support 20 West. But ultimately, despite the Respondent's attempts to use West's image and name to raise 21 funds, the Respondent's solicitations were made expressly in each instance on behalf of CAPE,

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MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 10 of 11

1 Two main factors weigh against a finding of reason to believe that CAPE violated

- 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b). First, CAPE is registered with the Commission and complies with its
- 3 reporting requirements, including disclosure of its expenditures and disbursements.
- 4 As explained in MUR 5472, "[f]ailure to file reports with the Commission indicating on what, if
- 5 anything, the money raised has been spent may be probative of the Committee's intent to
- 6 misrepresent itself to the public." Id. at 12.

Second, CAPE included adequate disclaimers in its communications that indicate that CAPE—and not a federal candidate—authorized the solicitation.<sup>4</sup> The disclaimers are clear and conspicuous; and "give the reader . . . adequate notice of the identity of the person or political committee that paid for and, where required, authorized the communication." See 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(c)(1). Each solicitation, further, referred to CAPE numerous times. The Commission has previously held that the presence of an adequate disclaimer identifying the person or entity that paid for and authorized a communication can defeat an inference that a respondent maintained the requisite intent to deceive for purposes of a section 441h violation. See MUR 2205 (Foglietta) (finding no reason to believe that respondents violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h where respondents included a dischaimer on advertising material that altered opponent's disclosure reports and made unsubstantiated negative statements); MURs 3690, 3700 (National Republican

Whenever any person makes a disbursement to finance a communication that solicits any contribution through any mailing, the communication must contain a disclaimer. 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a); 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a). If the communication is not authorized by a candidate, a candidate's authorized political committee, or any agent, the disclaimer must state the name and street address, telephone number, or World Wide Web address of the person who paid for the communication and state that the communication is not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)(3); 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(b)(3). Political committees that send more than 500 substantially similar communications by email must include disclaimers in the communications. 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(a)(1). The disclaimer must be presented in a clear and conspicuous manner to give the reader adequate notice of the identity of the person or committee that paid for and authorized the communication. 1d. § 110.11(c)(1). Among other things, the disclaimer in printed materials must be of sufficient type size to be clearly readable, and be contained in a printed box set apart from the other content of the communication. 2 U.S.C. § 441d(c); 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(c)(2)(i)-(ii). The disclaimer need not appear on the front or cover page of the communication. 11 C.F.R. § 110.11(c)(iv).

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MUR 6641 (CAPE PAC, et al.) Factual and Legal Analysis Page 11 of 11

- 1 Congressional Committee) (finding no reason to believe that respondents violated 2 U.S.C.
- 2 § 441h where disclaimer disclosed that respondents were responsible for the content of negative
- 3 satirical postcards that appeared to be written by opposing candidate and committee). Cf. MUR
- 4 5089 (Tuchman) (finding reason to believe a violation of section 441h occurred where disclaimer
- 5 was included only on envelope of solicitation letter because letter itself appeared to come from
- 6 an entity affiliated with the Democratic Party).

West presented some facts that would cut in favor of finding a violation—some persons

8 appear to have been misled by CAPE to think that they were contributing directly to West's

9 campaign—but this alone cannot support a finding that CAPE made fraudulent

misrepresentations in violation of section 441h(b). CAPE employed various measures, including

referencing CAPE, in addition to the Commission-required disclaimers in its communications, to

make clear that CAPE was responsible for its press release and website, not West. Because the

communications distributed by CAPE included the disclaimers required under Commission

regulations, the Commission finds no reason to believe that CAPE violated 2 U.S.C. § 441h(b)

15 and 11 C.F.R. § 110.16(b).